No Objection to Declassification in Full 2011/02/04 : LOC-HAK-504-7-2-2

TOP SECRET

PE DE WTE 22

EYES ONLY

F 141750Z AUG 72

GENERAL HENRY A. KISSINGER GENERAL HAIG, THE WHITE HOUSE

AKTO 3

OP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

- . WE HELD SEVEN AND A HALF HOUR MEETING WHICH WAS ESSENTEALLY A DESING ACTION TIL WE WOULD TABLE OUR POLITICAL PROPOSAL. I ABLED AND EXPLAINED OUR DOCUMENTS ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES! SUBSTANTIVE DINTS EXCEPT FOR THE POLITICAL ISSUE! AND PROCEDURAL POINTS. HISE WERE EXXSENTIALLY REPACKAGING OF THEIR PROPOSALS AND OUR ROPOSALS OF AUGUST 1. I AVOIDED ALL DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL QUESTION KCEPT NON-COMMITTAL GENERALITIES SAYING I WAS GOING TO SAIGON TO ISCUSS NEGOTIAITIONS.
- . THEY IN TURN CONFINED THEM

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TE DE WTE 22

F 141750Z, AUG 72 M GENERAL HENRY A. KISSINGER O GENERAL HAIG, THE WHITE HOUSE

AKTO 3

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- . THEY IN TURN CONFINED THEMSELVES TO POINT BY POINT CRITIQUE.

 E DUC THO'S ATTITUDE BECAME CLEARER WHEN HE TOLD ME AT THE

 ND OF THE MEETIN THAT HE IS RETURNING TO LANGI IN A FEW DAYS

 O REVIEW THEIR POSITION. #3 :)3-4)6 2- .95 SITION. #3 :)3-4)6 2- .95

 E CLEARLY WAS NOT ABOUT
- O GIVE ANYTHING AWAY PRIOR TO THAT REVIEW. I AM SURE THE PRESIDENT ILL APPRECIATE THE PR EFFECT OF NEARLY SIMULTANEOUS VISIT BY E TO SAIGON AND THO'S TRIP TO HANOI. (PLEASE PROTECT THO'S TRIP).
- LE DUC THO WAS SOMEWHAT NEGATIVE AS WE COMPARED OUR POSITIONS OINT BY POINT, BUT WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT THIS PUT ME IN THE WRONG OOD FOR SAIGON DISCUSSIONS, HE BECAME MUCH MORE CONCILIATORY ND SAID OTHER ISSUES WOULD BE EASILY SETTLED IF WE COULD SOLVE THE POLITICAL QUESTION.

ND OF PAGE 1

TOP SECRET
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TOP SECRETA SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

AT NO POINT DID THEY EVER MENTION BOMBING, MINING OR DIKES.

A. THEY AGAIN ATTACKED US FOR STIRRING UP SPECULATION ON PRIVATE TALKS AND DRAGGING OUT NEGOTATIONS FOR DOMESTIC RASONS. I RETORTED SHARPLY POINTING OUT THEY COULD NOT PLAY GAME OF PUBLIC STATELEMATE AND PRIVATE PROGRESS. THEY ACQUIESCED IN SIMPLE CONFIRMATION

OF MEETING AS WE PLANNED. IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE THAT THERE BE NO ELABORATIONS OF ANY KIND.

5. WE SET NEXT MEETING FOR SEPTEMBER G AS WE PLANNED. IT IS ABSOLUTELY I MPERATIVE THAT THERE BE NO ELABORATIONS OF ANY KIND.

5. WE SET NEXT MEETING FOR SEPTEMBER 15 SINCE LE DUC THO WON'T BE BACK UNTIL SEPTEMBER 10. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME LE DUC THO HAD ACCOUNTED FOR HIS MOVEMENTS TO NE.

6. IN SHORT THIS MEETING WAS HOLDING ACTION PENDING REVIEW IN CAPITALS BY BOTH SIDES, ESPECIALLY ON POLITICAL ISSUE. IT WAS USEFUL FOR US TO TABLE FORTHCO ING DOCUMENTS ON ALL OTHER POINTS AND ELICIT SOME UNREASONABLE RESPONSES FROM THEM ON POLITICAL ISSUE FOR THE RECORD IF NECESSARY.

WARM REGARDS

TOP SECFRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

TOP SECRET

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No Objection to Declassification in Full 2011/02/04: LOC-HAK-504-7-2-2

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

FLASH

August 14, 1972

HAKTO 3

TO:

GENERAL HAIG, THE WHITE HOUSE

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

#

1. We held seven and a half hour meeting which was essentially a holding action till we would table our political proposal. I tabled and explained our documents on general principles; substantive points except for the political issue; and procedural points. These were essentially repackaging of their proposals and our proposals of August 1. I avoided all discussion of political question except non-committal generalities saying I was going to Saigon to discuss negotiations.

- 2. They in turn confined themselves to point by point critique.

 Le Duc Tho's attitude became clearer when he told me at the end of the meeting that he is returning to Hanoi in a few days to review their position. He clearly was not about to give anything away prior to that review. I am sure the President will appreciate the PR effect of nearly simultaneous visit by me to Saigon and Tho's trip to Hanoi. (Please protect Tho's trip.)
- 3. Le Duc Tho was somewhat negative as we compared our positions point by point, but when I pointed out that this put me in the wrong mood for Saigon discussions, he became much more conciliatory and said other issues would be easily settled if we could solve the political question.

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At no point did they ever mention bombing, mining or dikes.

- 4. They again attacked us for stirring up speculation on private talks and dragging out negotiations for domestic reasons. I retorted sharply pointing out they could not play game of public stalemate and private progress. They acquiesced in simple confirmation of meeting as we planned. It is absolutely imperative that there be no elaborations of any kind.
- 5. We set next meeting for September 15 since Le Duc Tho won't be back until September 10. This was the first time Le Duc Tho had accounted for his movements to me.
- 6. In short this meeting was holding action pending review in capitals by both sides, especially on political issue. It was useful for us to table forthcoming documents on all other points and elicit some unreasonable responses from them on political issue for the record if necessary.

Warm regards.

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